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ABSTRACT

This study describes and analyzes the peer social world within the Chinese group in a multilingual preschool classroom, focusing on the ways Chinese children organize their interactions with each other and with other ethnic groups and how subcultural group differences are related to peer relationships. Most of the children in this class had peers with whom they could converse in their home languages. There were seven Chinese children speaking different dialects, and one spoke English in preference to her limited Mandarin. Their subgroup differences had important influences on the children's peer interactions. When no two in the play group come from the same place, the children create common ground (e.g., claim to be from Taiwan) to show their similarity and feel that they are a group. Some of the data show that some elements of Chinese culture might be transmitted or changed when the children interact with their peers. Among the questions that merit further study is that of the role of the school in the peer relationships of these "Chinese" children of differing backgrounds. Attachments include language proficiency descriptions and six figures. (Contains 15 references.) (SLD)

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**Different "Chinese" Playing Together:
The intra-group relationships and interactions in a multilingual
preschool classroom**

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The population of immigrants grows each year (Fillmore, 1991; Ramirez, 1988). Most of the literature on the peer relationships in a multicultural/multilingual classroom concerns about the inter-group relationships (E.g., Ramsey, 1987; Ting, 1995). However, the children's peer experiences within their own ethnic group have not received the attention they deserve in the Discourse of multicultural education. The previous studies on the in-group interactions within one ethnic group (e.g. Meyer, Klein, & Genishi, 1994; Tsai, 1993) have shown that the same-language peer group serves as an important context for the children's learning in a multicultural classroom. However, these studies do not focus on the children's adjustments within their same-ethnic peers. Based on my ethnographic study in a multilingual/multicultural preschool classroom, this paper describes and analyzes the peer social world within the Chinese group in a multilingual preschool classroom. It focuses on the following questions: (1) How do the Chinese children organize their interactions with each other and with other ethnic groups in this classroom? (2) How are the sub-cultural /sub-group differences related to the children's peer relationships and interactions within the same ethnic group? (3) How do the school Discourse on ethnicity and the peer discourse contribute to the children's construct of their identity? Finally, the limitations of using convenient overarching categories in multicultural education will also be discussed.

PERSPECTIVES

This study takes a cultural relativist perspective. Culture and ethnicity are considered as concepts that do not imply specific boundaries and can be discussed on different levels. Sub-cultural differences can be found within an ethnic group defined by a macro perspective. In addition, ethnicity are also considered as social constructs which derive from the process of social interactions (Heller, 1987).

A sociolinguistic perspective is used as a framework for understanding the complexity of a multilingual/multicultural setting. According to Gee (1990), the children from different backgrounds come to school with different "Discourses," that is, "ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking" (p. xix). Given the boundaries of language and culture in a multilingual/multicultural classroom, a challenge facing children is to construct a peer "Discourse" or peer culture (Corsaro, 1985) that works in such a classroom.

This study is also influenced by a post-Piagetian perspective on child development (e.g., Bruner, 1986; Donaldson, 1978; Haste, 1987; Vygotsky, 1978) and

an interpretive perspective on socialization (e.g., Cicourel, 1970; Corsaro, 1985; Labov, 1972). Both perspectives emphasize the importance of looking at young children's competence and the process of social interaction. Both move beyond the focus on children's inabilities, which dominated developmental research for decades, by looking at decontextualized context of the laboratory.

Further, I argue that individual development is rooted in social-cultural processes. As Vygotsky (1978) pointed out, the social is prior to individual; development moves from the external to internal. The individual child's social development must be understood by carefully observing her/his social world (Corsaro, 1985; 1992). Thus, I look at young children's social competence in actively making sense of the world and in constructing their identity and the peer world in a multilingual/multicultural classroom.

METHODS

Procedure

The methods I used include prolonged participant observation and interviews. The study lasted for a school year. The program is a half-day program and I observed in the classroom two to three times per week, for at least two hours each time. I interviewed the teacher, the teacher's assistant, selected parents, and the children across the year. I also attended staff meetings, teacher-parent conferences, family nights, field trips, and the conferences between the teacher and the student teachers. I also talked to the teacher and the assistant teacher informally from time to time. The material I collected includes the staff handbook, the school newsletters, hand-outs for family coordinators and parents, the progress reports of children, and one student teacher's journal.

The classroom observations were recorded by fieldnotes and videotapes, and the interviews were audio taped. I also developed various instruments for detailed recording of children's peer interactions, for example, "snapshots," in which I recorded all children's locations in the classroom at predetermined intervals.

The Setting

The classroom I studied belongs to the program that I will call Multilingual/multicultural Preschool Program (MPP). The program is federally funded and was established in 1992. It was designed as a model of

multilingual/multilingual education. The program is characterized by an emphasis on the importance of maintaining the children's home language while they are learning English.

One of the distinct characteristics of the MPP program was its attempt to maintain children's home language while they were learning English. As a hand-out written in English by the teacher for parents states:

There are a number of reasons why we continually ask you (the parents) to speak to your child in the home language. We want to maintain your family's communication. Many families come to the United States and work hard to speak English while not maintaining their home language. Over time the children progress in English while the parents are not able to progress at the same rate. Soon the children and parents are not able to communicate in depth about important subjects in the same language. A communication breakdown occurs in the family (Wong Fillmore, 1991). Instead of this happening, we want your child to grow up bilingual. Your child will learn English in school and maintain his/her home language at home. In addition, speaking to your child in the home language helps him/her to acquire language skills and concepts in English. When in the school situation your child is able to transfer skills and concepts from the home language to English as we study topics that you have explored with your child in the home language.

(Commins, 1989)

Therefore, most of the children in the multilingual/multicultural classroom had peers who they could communicate with in their home language. The class I observed included a Chinese group, a Russian group, a Pakistani group, and an African group. The only exception to the common language principle was the African group, which was defined according to geographical area and culture. The children, while from the same geographical region, had different home languages. In addition, in the Spring of 1994 one Vietnamese child entered the classroom. This was the only one who did not have a same-language or same-culture peer in the classroom.

The program was staffed by an American teacher (who is also the program director), a Chinese teacher's assistant (from Taiwan), and a part-time administrative assistant (me). In addition, five family coordinators from different language and cultural backgrounds were hired to do monthly home visits and weekly classroom activities in children's home language. Although the only criteria for enrolling in this program is that the child's home language is not English, arrangements are made

so that all children have peers who speak the same home language or who are from the same culture.

The class was composed of 16 children. Five children withdrew in the middle of the school year, while four new students entered during the year. The following is a list of the names and the basic information of all the children I observed. They are from five different cultural groups, as the school defined, including Chinese, Russian, African, Pakistani, and Vietnamese.

In order to maintain the home language, the program tried to include more than one child who had the same home language. In order to let the children know their same language/cultural peers, the program did an orientation for each group on different days of the first week. For example, the Chinese children spent their first day in school only with the Chinese peers. The children from the same language/cultural group were encouraged to be friends with each other and to converse in their home language. The curricula were organized in a way that promotes the children's ethnic self-esteem and their sensitivity to the differences of the cultural/language/ethnic groups. As the teacher said, "I want them to be aware of it in the sense that they are proud of it."

Table 1: A List Of The Children's Names and Other Information

Name (Abbreviation)		Language/ Cultural group	Gender	entry (+) /withdraw (-)	Second-year Student
Dennis	(D)	Chinese	Boy		No
Yan-ming	(Y)	Chinese	Boy		No
I-Cheng	(I)	Chinese	Boy	-Nov/Fall	No
Han	(H)	Chinese	Boy	+Jan/Fall	No
Peggy	(P)	Chinese	Girl		No
Janet	(J)	Chinese	Girl		No
Elaine	(E)	Chinese	Girl		Yes
Winnie	(W)	African	Girl		Yes
Miranda	(M)	African	Girl		Yes
Tessa	(T)	African	Girl	-Feb/Spring	No
Oliver	(O)	African	Girl	+Apr/Spring	No
Rebecca	(R)	Pakistani	Girl		Yes
Laura	(L)	Pakistani	Girl	-Mar/Spring	Yes
Fiona	(F)	Pakistani	Girl	-Dec/Spring	Yes
Kaven	(K)	Pakistani	Boy		Yes
Alexander	(A)	Russian	Boy		Yes
Bluma	(B)	Russian	Boy		Yes
Stepan	(S)	Russian	Boy	+Oct/Fall	No
Vania	(V)	Russian	Boy	-Sep/Fall	No
Nou	(N)	Vietnamese	Boy	+Jan/Fall	No

THE PEER SOCIAL NETWORK OF ALL CHILDREN

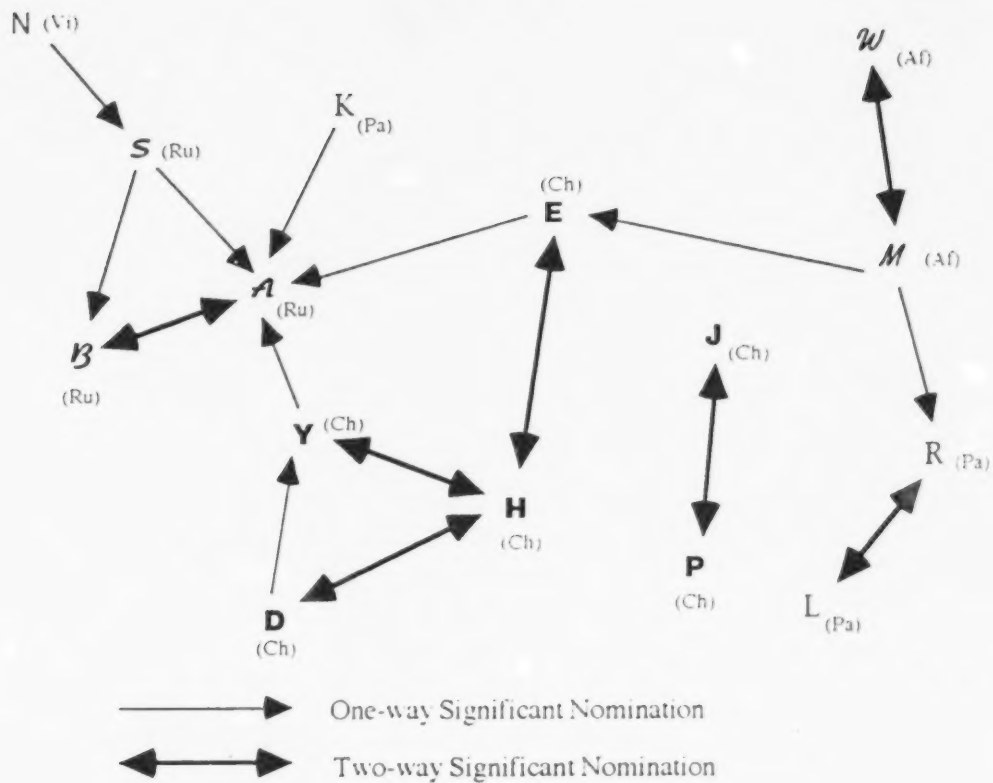
From the analysis of the seating locations during group time and leaving time, the name tag arrangements, the children's interviews, and the snapshots, it is found that the peer social structure in the second semester is quite similar to that in the first semester, though there are three different students (See Appendix for examples)(for more detailed analysis, see Ting, 1995). The structure of children's grouping emerges very early in the year and it is maintained over time. The children tend to play with the same playmate everyday and throughout the year. Five groups are identified as stable groups over time--that is, Y-I-D or Y-D-H (Chinese boys), J-P (Chinese girls), A-B (Russian boys), L-R-F (Pakistani girls), and M-W (African). In addition to the boundary of gender and age, the way the children organize themselves was very consistent with the way the school organizes them according to their language and cultural backgrounds. The following figure shows an overview of the peer social structure summarized from the interview data of the second semester.

Among the five groups, the M-W (African) group has the weakest connection because M (African) sometimes play with other groups, too. This group is also the only group that does not have a common home language¹ and was labeled as "African" according to the geographical/cultural background, not language. Perhaps this lack of "concrete similarity" also contributes to the weakness of their relationships.

The child who has a major change in grouping is E (Chinese), who is a second-year student, and whose English is much better than Chinese (please see Table 2 on next page). She is with M (African) and W (African) during the first semester, however, she drops out of this group and plays more with the boys in the second semester. In addition to the groups, some children (a 3-year-old Pakistani-K, a 3-year-old Russian-S, a Vietnamese-N, two African-T & O) are found consistently to be on the edge through time.

As the children's grouping structure shows, the Chinese children usually stay with the Chinese children. However, the Chinese children actually came from different sub-cultural backgrounds and even speak different dialects. These differences to some extent influence their relationships and interactions.

¹ The Chinese group was considered to have a common language.



The meaning of the symbols:

1. Each capitalized character represents a child's initial.
2. The column follows shows the child's language/cultural group as defined by the school.

(Ch): Chinese
 (Pa): Pakistani
 (Ru): Russian
 (Vi): Vietnamese
 (Af): African

Appendix The peer social network
 (based on nominations)

A PORTRAIT OF THE CHINESE SMALL WORLD

Peggy (Ch): "I play with JU-JU (Janet) (Ch) all the time."

"Han (Ch), Dennis (Ch), Yan-ming (Ch), Elaine (Ch), all the time it's like this." "Sometimes I play with JU-JU (Ch), sometimes I play with Elaine (Ch), or Yan-ming (Ch), or Dennis (Ch), or Han (Ch)." (5/7/94, interview Peggy)

There were seven Chinese children I observed through the year. Although they were all labeled as Chinese, they were different in that they speak different dialects at home and came from different geographic areas and countries. The following table shows a brief summary of the Chinese children's backgrounds, language assessments upon entry and other information.

Table2: The children's language assessments and background information

Name	Home Language	Language Evaluation* (Fall)	Language Evaluation* (Spring)	Birth Place	Parents Home Country	Number of Siblings	Home Community
		Mandarin & English	Mandarin & English				
Han	Mandarin	H: - E: 5.6	H: 5.2 E: 6.0	Taiwan	Taiwan	1 younger sister	University housing
Dennis (David)	ShanDung	H: 4.8 E: 1.0	H: 5.0 E: 3.5	America	Korea	1 elder brother	Outside University
Yan-ming	Mandarin	H: 5.4 E: 1.6	H: 5.6 E: 4.4	China	China	1 younger sister	University housing
I-Cheng	Mandarin	H: 5.2 E: 4.0	H: - E: -	China	China	0	University housing
Pei-Chi (Peggy)	Mandarin	H: 5.6 E: 4.4	H: 5.8 E: 5.6	Taiwan	Taiwan	1 younger brother	University housing
Janet	Mandarin	H: 3.8 E: 5.0	H: 4.6 E: 6.0	Taiwan	Taiwan	0	University housing
Elaine	English (Mandarin)	H: 3.2 E: 3.8	H: 3.4 E: 4.7	America	Taiwan	1 elder sister	Outside University

* Based on 6.0 scale. (See Appendix for the criteria of language evaluation)

The Chinese Boys

The Two China-Chinese and the Korean-Chinese

Yan-ming (Ch), I-Cheng (Ch), and Dennis (Ch) were all first-year students in the class. Yan-ming and I-Cheng are both from Mainland China, and their parents are

graduate students, studying in the University. Both families live in the University campus housing community and the two boys take the same school bus every day. The two boys speak Mandarin with an accent that is distinct from the accent of people from Taiwan. Soon after they get in the program, Yan-ming and I-Cheng are found to play together.

Dennis lives in a different community and therefore does not take the same school bus with Yan-ming and I-Cheng. He was born in America, while his parents, who are the owners of a Chinese restaurant, grew up in Korea with high school degrees. Although his parents went to Chinese school in Korea and can speak Mandarin, at home they speak Shan-Dong dialect that even the Chinese teacher's assistant and I have difficulty in understanding. In the earlier period of the semester, he sometimes plays in the dramatic play center and pretends to cook, as his father does in the restaurant. He is the only boy in the classroom who plays in the kitchen and as a cook. However, this behavior decreases gradually as he starts to play with other boys, who spend most of the time playing in the centers other than the dramatic play center.

During the first semester, Yan-ming and I-Cheng usually play together. Although Dennis often followed them, he has difficulty in getting in the group. Dennis often tries very hard to get into their play and express his friendliness by using body language (e.g., pointing to what he is referring to) or other non-verbal strategies (e.g., helping to build constructions). For example, in some group activities Dennis often shows his friendliness by sitting by the two boys or hanging his nametag next to theirs.

(10/20/93, videotape)

Dennis, I-Cheng, and Yan-ming are all in the block center. Dennis climbs on the construction and at some point he says something to them in dialect, "YOU ... YOU..." Both Yan-ming and I-Cheng do not respond to him. Later Yan-ming and I-Cheng begin to build a "bridge." Seeing this, Dennis also picks up two big blocks and would like to help them. However, seeing Dennis coming, Yan-ming says to I-Cheng, "HEY, HE IS COMING, TOO." Then he turns to Dennis, "WE DON'T NEED ANY MORE (HELP), JUST GIVE THE BLOCKS TO US." Being rejected, as I-Cheng tries to get the blocks from him, Dennis refuses to hand in the blocks and says: "I WANT TO BUILD MY OWN. I WANT TO BUILD MY OWN."

Finally, I-Cheng gives up and comes back to Yan-ming, "LET'S USE TWO SMALL BLOCKS INSTEAD." However, Yan-ming keeps complaining that the bridge is not wide enough for them to walk on. He keeps saying that they will fall into the water. The two boys discuss loudly in the distance that David

can hear them clearly, as if they are implicitly blaming Dennis for not giving them the blocks.

I: "THERE IS WATER, RIGHT?"

Y: "RIGHT, HOW COULD WE GET OUT? WE WILL FALL DOWN.
THERE IS WATER. RIGHT?"

I: "RIGHT."

Listening to their conversations, David, holding the two blocks in hands, stands there, as if he is thinking about what to do. Later Yan-ming and I-Cheng decide to try again. They go to Dennis and pull hard over the blocks in Dennis' arms, until Dennis' whining catches Cathy's attention. Cathy first figures out who gets the blocks first, and then she asks Yan-ming and I-Cheng to wait until Dennis finishing using those blocks. Yan-ming and I-Cheng finally give up and go back to their bridge.

Knowing that there is no way to get in Yan-ming and I-Cheng's play, Dennis finally gives up.

After a few minutes, he brings the two big blocks to Yan-ming and I-Cheng, "HEY, GIVE YOU THESE. I DON'T WANT TO USE THOSE ANYMORE."
Dennis seems frustrated and begins to walk around angrily and kick some blocks on the ground.

However, it seems that Yan-ming does not like Dennis. He once complains to Cathy during group time, "HE (Dennis) IS ALWAYS FOLLOWING ME."
Sometimes when I-Cheng plays more with Dennis, Yan-ming will say to I-Cheng in a jealous manner, "I AM NOT PLAYING WITH YOU." As Yan-ming's mother said, usually he only focuses on his best friend and strongly excludes other children. Dennis' mother also gets the message from Dennis that Yan-ming and I-Cheng do not play with him. The teacher is aware of this situation and the two boy's rejections to Dennis once called for the teacher's serious attention.

(11/24/93, videotape)

I-Cheng tickles on Dennis' knees for several times. Dennis finally hits his hand. Seeing this, Yan-ming calls the teacher, "Jenny, Jenny, I don't want Dennis my ... [he pointed to Dennis and himself]." Dennis tries to explain something using his limited English, "... play." The teacher comes over and squats down in front of Yan-ming and I-Cheng, talking to them seriously, "Boys, you need to be friends of Dennis, too. ... Oh you can't sit here or you can't be here, that's not (being friend)." Dennis says, "Yeah." The teacher continues, "I already told I-Cheng. You have to be friend with everybody. Yan-ming, everybody has to

be friend." The teacher looks at Yan-ming for a few seconds. Finally, with his head down, Yan-ming nods his head. The teacher then turns to I-Cheng, "I-Cheng, everybody has to be friend." I-Cheng also nods with an embarrassed expression. Before she left, the teacher says, "You will be friend of everybody, too."

With all his effort to communicate and play with Yan-ming and I-Cheng, Dennis is still rejected by Yan-ming and I-Cheng from time to time. Through the year, Dennis sometimes plays alone by himself or tries to play with other children, while he does not stay with the same children for a long time.

The situation changes as I-Cheng withdraws from the program in late November. Losing his best friend, Yan-ming hangs around for most of the time. Sometimes he sits alone in the corner and watches other children playing, other times he draws pictures or asks an adult to read some stories to him. Seeing Yan-ming alone, Dennis tries for several times to invite Yan-ming to play together, though he is not always successful. The semester ends before they develop a further stable friendship.

The Development of The New Triad

In the second semester, Han joins the class. Han is from Taiwan and his parents are both graduate students. Although he was in another class during the first semester, Yan-ming is not unfamiliar with Han because he visited this classroom on Wednesdays² and they are assigned to sit together on the same school bus everyday. Therefore, when Han joins the class in the second semester, Yan-ming soon develops a friendship with him.

Han's Chinese and English are both very good. He is the most literate one and can read English books written at a first-grade level. Before he got in this school, he attended another preschool for one year. Although there seems no problem in communicating in English, according to Han's mother, Han tends to stay with the Chinese child when he attends another preschool. After he enters MPP, he also stays with the Chinese children almost all the time. When I interviewed him, he put all the Chinese children's photos together and said, "WE, WE, WE ALL PLAY TOGETHER," though he also mentioned that most of the time he played with Yan-ming and Dennis.

² Han was the only Chinese in his class during the first semester. By visiting the multilingual classroom once a week, the program wishes to provide him the opportunity to be with the Chinese peers in order to maintain his home language.

Han soon becomes very popular for Yan-ming and Dennis when he enters the program and he accepts both of them, too. One day both Dennis and Yan-ming pull Han's arms in two different directions in order to ask Han to play with them. The teacher's assistant tells them that they have to "share" Han, otherwise he will be torn apart. After a period of time, Han gradually becomes the bridge for the two boys and they finally became a triad group and stay together almost all the time.

The increasing after-school contacts in the second semester also contribute to the relationships between Yan-ming and Dennis, though only to a limited extent. Dennis and his brother are baby sit by Yan-ming's grandmother in spring. Since then Dennis rides the same bus with Yan-ming after school. However, according to the teacher's assistant and Dennis' mother, Dennis usually plays with his brother, not Yan-ming, even when in Yan-ming's house. The nomination data also shows that it seems that Yan-ming does not like Dennis very much. Yan-ming's attitude toward Dennis seems to be influenced by Han's joining.

Although Han's English is very good, he speaks Mandarin with Dennis and Yan-ming most of the time. Dennis' ability in communicating by both verbal (in Mandarin and English) and non-verbal language has gradually improved through time, but sometimes the two boys still have difficulty in understanding him. They sometimes ask each other, "WHAT DID HE SAY?" In spite of this fact, this difficulty in communication seems not to jeopardize their relationships. Han and Yan-ming usually neglect Dennis' opinions when they can't understand him, though Dennis seems to feel frustrated at those times. Because Han is the locus of the two boys, his acceptance to Dennis helps to maintain a more balanced relationship in between the tree boys. In other words, if Yan-ming would like to play with Han, he must accept Dennis, too.

As the following episode shows, Dennis' social status in the group is getting more balanced toward the end of the semester and sometimes even becomes the focus of the group.

(5/11/94)

Han (Ch) is reading an English rhyme and points upon the rhythm to Yan-ming (Ch) and himself to decide who should sit with Dennis. "... seventy, fifty dollar, and seventy, my mother told me to share with a very ..." He arranges the tempo carefully so that finally he points to himself. "Me," he says excitedly.

D-H: "I don't want si by you."

H-D: "Why?"

Y-D: "You want sit my me?"

H-D: "How about tomorrow?"

Y-D: "YOU DON'T WANT TO SIT WITH HIM, EVERYDAY? RIGHT?
CAN YOU SIT WITH ME ALL THE TIME?"

Han tries to bribe Dennis.

H-D: "Dennis, THEN I WILL-, BUT WHAT DO YOU WANT? WHAT DO
YOU WANT? I WILL GIVE IT TO YOU. I CAN GIVE YOU ONE."

D-H: "Han, TODAY I SIT WITH YOU. TODAY."

H-D: THEN HOW ABOUT TOMORROW? TOMORROW TWO SIT
TOGETHER. TOMMORROW. ALL RIGHT. THEN TOMORROW
LET YOU (say to Yan-Ming)."

D: "UHA?"

H: "NO. I WAS TALKING TO YAN-MING."

H-Y: "DENNIS WILL SIT WITH YOU TOMORROW."

The Peer Culture of the Boys' Triad

Through time, the three boys becomes a stable group and develop their own peer culture, including pretending to be the same role in dramatic play, taking sides, and covering for each other when they did "something bad."

(5/10/94, videotape) (Play the Same Role)

In the dramatic play center. Han is thinking about what role he wants to play.

H: "WHAT SHOULD I PRETEND TO BE?"

Y: "I WANT TO BE A DOG."

D: "THEN I AM A DOG, TOO."

Finally Han also pretends to be a dog.

(5/10/94, interview Han) (Taking sides)

"IF MAO-MAO (Yan-ming) DO SOMETHING BAD, HE (Dennis) WILL BE
MY FRIEND, IF I DO SOMETHING BAD, HE (Dennis) WILL BE MAO-
MAO'S FRIEND. IF CHUNG-YI (Dennis) DO SOMETHING BAD, MAO-
MAO SAW IT, THEN HE (Dennis) WILL BE MY FRIEND. IF I DID
SOMETHING BAD, HE WILL BE CHUNG-YI'S FRIEND. (IF YAN-MING
AND CHUNG-YI DO SOMETHING BAD), THEN I WILL ASK THEM TO
PLAY THE 'HAND GAME.' WHOEVER WINS, I WILL BE HIS FRIEND."

(5/10/94, interview Han) (Covering For Each Other)

"(I WON'T TELL THE TEACHER IF THEY DO SOMETHING BAD),

BECAUSE I AM THEIR FRIEND." "(IF I DO SOMETHING BAD), THEY WON'T TELL THE TEACHER, EITHER. Sometimes, but not all the time."

The strong solidarity and loyalty among these three boys influence each other's preferences and decisions, too. When one of them would like to reach out to other children while the others do not agree, the boy will finally give up his idea and accept others' value. These are also the times that personal value or home culture might become part of the peer culture within the group.

(5/11/94, interview)

When Yan-ming is looking at Janet's picture, Dennis tries to stop him from picking up Janet's picture.

D-Y: "I am not play with he (Janet). I am not play with he, Yan-ming."

Y: "I do."

D: "Oh! Dea! You play with he ye is girl."

Y: "Uhn-Uhn. All right." Yan-ming finally puts down Janet's picture.

D: "My brother say that."

Later Han comes. When he sees Janet's picture, he picks it up and looks at it closely.

Y-H: "IF YOU PLAY WITH JOY, YOU ARE A GIRL. NHA!"

Yan-ming sticks out his tongue to the picture, making a disgusting face.

D: "MY ELDER BROTHER SAID THAT. MY ELDER BROTHER SAID THAT YOU-, YOU-, YOU-, IF YOU PLAY WITH JANET, YOU ARE A GIRL."

(5/10/94, interview)

H: "I LIKE, I WANT TO PLAY WITH K, BUT-, BECAUSE Yan-ming DOESN'T WANT TO PLAY WITH K, ..., (SO) I SELDOM PLAY WITH K"

The solidarity of the three boys also influences these boys' senses of "who I am." When the teacher asks the children to put their pictures on a world map, showing where they are from, both Yan-ming (from China) and Dennis (from Korea) claims that they were from Taiwan. When a visitor came, Yan-ming introduced himself that "I am Taiwan." As his mother says, no matter how his parents tries to persuade him, he still insists that he is from Taiwan and does not want to admit that he is actually from Mainland China.

The Triad's Contacts with the Chinese Girls

The first episode above implies that these boys do not play with the girls. As the nomination data (see Appendix) shows, Peggy (Ch), Janet (Ch), and Elaine (Ch) are the only three girls who appear in these three Chinese boys' nominations. Sometimes they play with Peggy, especially when the teacher allows more children to play in the dramatic play or the block center. As Peggy is usually with Janet, they also have some contacts with Janet. Elaine attends the Chinese Sunday school with Han and she likes Han a lot. She likes to play with the blocks and thus has more opportunity to play with the boys. As her nominations show, Elaine nominates Han and Alexander as her playmates, and she includes Han as one member in the picture of her family (see Appendix).

The Girls' Dyad: The Two Taiwanese-Chinese Girls

Peggy and Janet find each other soon after the school started. Both of their parents are from Taiwan and they live in the University housing community. According to Peggy's mother, Peggy came to America when she was almost three years old. When she attended another school before she comes to this class. At that time she usually played with the Chinese boys because she was the only Chinese girl in class. After she gets in this class, she becomes good friend with Janet.

Although Janet's parents both came from Taiwan, she was born in America and is almost one year younger than Peggy. She is physically a tiny girl with a soft voice. Her ability in English (5.0) is better than Chinese (3.8) (see Table 2) because she has been baby sit by an American woman for one year. English almost becomes her first language and even at home she speaks English with her parents. In contrast, Peggy's ability in Chinese (5.6) is better than English (4.4). In the beginning of the semester, Peggy converses with Janet in English from time to time. However, sometimes she tells Janet that she has to speak Chinese because she does not know how to express in English. They seem to facilitate each other's development in both languages. For many times Peggy has to explain to Janet the meaning of a certain Chinese vocabulary.

(2/14/94)

P-J: "DO YOU KNOW WHAT IS A PAINTER?"

Janet does not know.

P: "A PAINTER IS SOMEBODY WHO DRAWS PICTURES AND THEN

SELLS THE PICTURES TO EARN MONEY."

However, the unbalanced power relationship between Janet and Peggy concerns Jenny and Janet's mother a lot. Peggy usually acts as if she is the older sister and helps Janet with many things. However, she also assumes the role of leader and often tells Janet to do or not to do something. She once blames Janet for not following her order by saying, "I AM OLDER THAN YOU." Maybe she assumes that Janet should obey her will because Janet is younger.

(11/24/93, videotape)

(In Gym, before leaving) Peggy switches into Chinese when she talks to Janet. It seems that they have some arguments earlier. When Janet is trying to do the zipper by herself, Peggy stops her, "Janet, DON'T ... JU-JU, THE ZIPPER WILL BE BROKEN IF YOU DO IT THIS WAY." Janet does not respond. She seems not happy with Peggy's attitude and simply looks around. Peggy moves closer to her, with fists on her waist, looks angry and says seriously, "DON'T SPEAK TO ME IN THAT WAY AGAIN. O.K.? JU-JU?" Yet, Janet does not respond. She looks upset and angry. Peggy continues, "LOOK, I AM OLDER THAN YOU." At this time, Miranda comes to say something about the bus seating location. The Chinese conversation stopped.

In Chinese culture, as compared to American culture, age hierarchy is an important factor that organizes many aspects of social relationships and interactions. Peggy's mother usually tells Peggy that she should take care of her younger brother or other younger children because she is older. Sometimes Peggy helps the three-year-old boy and shows him where to put his nametag.

Although sometimes Janet is not happy with Peggy's control, in consideration of their friendships, she still tolerates Peggy. The teacher was very concerned about Janet's situation and wrote in the report for her parents,

"Lately we see signs of her (Janet's) being too submissive to the directions given by friends. As we discover these situations we talk to her about them. She has established friendships with Peggy. We are working to help her become more outspoken in negotiation of these play roles with friends." (1/94, child development report for parents)

After talking with the teacher, Janet's mother begins to pay more attention to Janet's interactions with Peggy and tries to teach her to stand up for herself.

Sometimes she even comes to the class to observe them. When she sees Peggy forces Janet to do something that Janet does not like to do, Janet's mother will help Janet to speak out her feeling and reject Peggy's demands.

With the adults' supports, Janet becomes more capable of standing up for herself. Peggy has a hard time accepting Janet's refusal to follow her ideas. Sometimes Peggy gets very angry and Jenny or Cathy will tell her that Janet has the right to say "no" to her. Peggy's mother also helps her to learn that she should not dominate other children. Gradually, with the adults' help, Peggy learns to accept the fact.

In spite of some unhappy interactions with Peggy, Janet still likes to play with Peggy most of the time. Their friendship is maintained throughout the year, though another two girls--Miranda (African) and Rebecca (Pakistani)--also try to join them.

In the middle of the second semester, one day Janet and her mother met Miranda (African) and her mother in their community. They found that they lived nearby each other. Janet's mother invited Miranda to play with Janet at home. After that outside school contact, Miranda approaches Janet in school more than before.

Rebecca also begins to approach Janet after her best friend Laura (Pakistani) goes back to Pakistan. Janet becomes the target of the competition among the three girls (Peggy, Miranda, and Rebecca). Sometimes the competition bothers Janet very much because all of these three girls want to hold her hands or sit by her. Sometimes the competitions during the group time provoke the teachers' interventions.

The join of the other two girls helps to balance the power relationships between Peggy and Janet³, though they still see each other as best friends, as their nominations show.

The Girl Who Does Not Speak Mandarin

Elaine is the daughter of the teacher's assistant. She was born in America, her family has been living in the United States for 12 years. Her father was a graduate student and is working full time as a researcher in University. They live in a community where all but them are from another country. According to her mother, before Elaine enters this program she seldom has the opportunity to contact with the Chinese. They have developed close friendships with an American family that also has two girls at the same ages. The four-year-old girl of that family thus becomes Elaine's best friend.

Among the Chinese children in this classroom, Elaine is the only second-year student. Although she can understand Chinese and her mother (the teacher's

³ The changing of the power relationships within the group members that is caused by a third party can also be seen in the boy's group, while this is not the focus of this paper.

assistant, Cathy) speaks Mandarin with Chinese children almost all the time, Elaine always speaks English. According to Cathy, when Elaine was young, she used to encourage her to speak English. Besides, her 10-year-old sister speaks English only. In school, only when she needs to communicate with Dennis, who speaks no English when he enters, does she try to speak some Chinese words (e.g. "YES," "NO," "DON'T") with an American accent.

During the first semester, Elaine plays more with Winnie (African) and Miranda (African), who are also in the same class the year before. Their friendships seem to have developed since the year before. Without a common home language, they always converse in English. From my observations and from the English assessment, these three girls are all quite competent in speaking English. However, later Elaine spends more and more time in playing other children. According to Cathy, she encourages Elaine to keep away from Winnie and play with other children, because Winnie cries from time to time and often makes Elaine appear to be the villain. In addition, Cathy wishes that Elaine could have more contacts with the Chinese peers in order to enhance her identity as Chinese. Through time, her relationship with Winnie and Miranda gradually becomes distanced in the second semester.

Elaine and Han both attend the Chinese school on Sundays. Elaine likes Han very much and often tells her mother that Han is her boyfriend. As her nomination shows, she gives a significant nomination to Han. Because Han usually stays with Yan-ming and Dennis, Elaine is often with the three boys. Other children are also aware of Elaine's preference and put Elaine's picture with the three boys' when I interviewed them. However, when Elaine is playing with these three boys, she seems to be on the edge at these times. Although the three boys also play with her, they do not care so much about her as they do about each other.

Although Elaine rarely speaks Chinese, being in an environment that emphasizes home language and cultural identity, she gradually becomes more and more proud of being Chinese and being able to speak some Mandarin. Sometimes she shows to the teacher that she knows the Chinese phonetic symbols in the book or tells her that she can count in Chinese. One day when Han tells a Korean visitor that he speaks Chinese, Elaine also tells the visitor proudly, "I speak Chinese, too." She has developed the identity of being Chinese. However, sometimes identity can be used as an excuse for exclusion. One day Elaine refuses to play with Winnie by saying, "I am not playing with you. Now, you are not Chinese, I am playing with Chinese persons."⁴

⁴ For the ways that the children show their rejections and maintain the group boundaries, please see Ting (1995).

DISCUSSION

The Sub-Cultural Differences and the Children's Grouping

Although the Chinese children are defined as having the same cultural/language background, they actually come from different places and one of them speaks a dialect that other children can not understand. These sub-group differences had important influences on the children's peer interactions.

Among the seven Chinese children, two boys are from Mainland China (People's Republic of China); one who speaks Shan-Dong dialect is from Korea⁵; and another boy, who joins in the second semester, is from Taiwan. Among the girls, all are from Taiwan, though two of them were born in America and spoke English well before coming to the school. All of the Chinese children's parents, except for the ones from Korea, study in or work for the university. The ones from Korea were the owners of a Chinese restaurant, with lower educational background.

The boundaries of the Chinese children's groups during the first semester are correspondent to the boundaries of their family backgrounds—The two boys from Mainland China play together and the boy from Korea plays along. The two girls from Taiwan play together, while another girl, whose family has been staying in America for twelve years and whose English is better than Chinese, did not stay with any certain Chinese groups.

The boy from Korea speaks Shan-Dong dialect only and had great difficulty in communicating with not only other groups of children but with his Chinese peers. His difficult situation continues until one of the boys from Mainland China leaves the program at the end of the semester and a Taiwanese boy joins in the second semester. The new comer is very popular and is willing to build relationships with both boys. Through time, the three boys who come from three different places (Korea, Taiwan, and Mainland China) gradually become a group in the second semester.

This case shows how the sub-cultural differences within one ethnic group might influence the children's grouping. When no two in the group come from the same place, the children will create their common ground (e.g., claim to be from Taiwan) to show their similarity and to feel as one group. In this case, the popular child (Han) has more influence over the other two children.

⁵ Dennis actually is born in America, though his parents come from Korea.

⁶ In this case, who the "Chinese" are.

Who am I?: School Discourse, Peer Discourse, and Children's Identity

Beginning from the very first day of the school orientation, the children in MPP classroom start to learn from the school "who I am" and "who 'WE' are⁶." Through their everyday participation in a school Discourse that emphasizes their language and cultural backgrounds, the children in this classroom are not hesitated to tell people that they are Chinese. These categories have been internalized as an important part of the children's self-concept or identity. They not only identify themselves by these categories but also expect a stranger to identify herself in the same framework. For example, one day when a Korean visitor came to the classroom, Han asked her if she spoke Chinese. Then Han told her, "I speak Chinese." Elaine, who rarely spoke Chinese, also came to tell the visitor proudly, "I speak Chinese, too." As it was shown in the parent questionnaires, most of the parents indicate that their children have developed a feeling of pride of their home language and culture.

Further, the children's socialization of "who 'we' are" is revealed from the boundaries in their peer social network. In addition to the boundaries of gender and age, the children in this classroom tend to limit their contacts with peers under the same language/cultural labels given by the school. However, as we look closely into the Chinese peer social world, we can find that sub-cultural/language differences play a role in children's interactions and relationships. Due to different family backgrounds, the children under the name of "Chinese" might speak different dialects and thus have problems in communication. For example, Dennis speaks Shan-Dong dialect and can not communicate with other children who speaks Mandarin.

The members within the same ethnic group might further identify themselves by different geographical areas where they came from, especially in the case of Chinese group. It might not be due to the political reason only, but also due to the cultural differences that are closely related to the geographical boundaries and the political systems. When two Chinese family meet, the first question they ask each other might be "where are you from? Taiwan or Mainland China?" Sometimes they can tell the differences simply from the accent, though they all speak Mandarin. For many Chinese who grow up in Taiwan, the identity as Taiwanese is more

⁷ Those who come from People's Republic of China will refer to "China", in stead of "Mainland China."

meaningful than the identity of being Chinese⁸. From my observations of the Family Nights held by the school, the parents contact more with those who came from the same geographical area. The distinction between the Taiwanese and Mainland-Chinese is revealed obviously not only in everyday discourse among the Chinese, but also in their contacts and interactions.

Being exposed to the Chinese in-group Discourse, the children learn to further distinguish the Chinese people as from Taiwan, Mainland China, or Korea. Although Yan-ming's claim of "I am Taiwan" does not reflect a correct identification, his insist shows a strong awareness of the differences between these categories and how important the distinguish means to him. Further, the Chinese boy's grouping during the first semester (Y and I together, while D is on the edge) is consistent to the boundaries of the family's geographical backgrounds, which are closely related to the language and cultural differences. Interestingly, not until all of the three boys have different geographical originalities, did they start to form a group.

Although the children internalize the categories that adults use to identify people, they do not simply copy them down or use them without their own interpretations. For example, although being "Chinese" serves as a common ground for being the same as their peers, Yan-ming and Dennis still insist that they were from Taiwan. For them, this distinguish might make them uneasy and too 'distinct' from the their Chinese peers. Being from different places may be perceived as an invisible wall that would jeopardize their relationships. As they try to play the same role in the dramatic play, their claim to be Taiwanese-Chinese may be due to their need to feel "being the same" as their friends⁹.

Although it is not clear whether "being from Taiwan" is just an "image" or "identity," it may be important to look at the influence of school experiences and peer groups on children's identity socialization. After all, self-identity came from social interactions. How we see ourselves arises from how the others see us (Mead, 1934).

⁸ This phenomenon probably is also related to the Chinese culture and community that are closely bound to land. In Taiwan and even in America, the organizations by the same last name or the same geographical originality still play an important role in the political campaigns.

⁹ This case also reveals a fact that the influence of peer groups might start from as young as four year old. However, this is not the focus of this paper.

CONCLUSION

The Limitation of Using Overarching Categories

As we can see from the data, the Chinese peers do serve as contexts for cultural and language learning. The children not only make progress in their English, but also their home language (see language assessment). Further, some elements of the home culture come into the children's discourse when they interact with each other (e.g., Peggy & Jenet). The children develop a strong sense of the ethnic categories and feel comfortable to identify themselves by those labels given by the school. In terms of maintaining the children's home language and culture, the program does achieve its goal.

However, the close examination of the children's in-group interactions in this study draws our attention to the limitation of the overarching ethnic categories. The discussions on multicultural education usually involve categorizing people according to gender, culture, language, race, or social class, etc.. These overarching categories are so convenient that we tend to neglect the sub-categories and in-group differences. Teachers of the multicultural programs organize their curriculum in a way that ensures the equality of each "group." However, as Nieto(1992) pointed out, the overarching categories of ethnic groups overlook the within-group differences. The children under the same label of ethnicity may come from different places or speak different dialects, and thus have difficulty in communicating or interacting with other in-group members. Given that peer groups are important contexts for the development of children's social competence, both the inter-group and intra-group differences should be attended, in order to ensure that each "individual" as well as each "group" have the equal opportunity of development and learning in school.

The Limitation of This Study And Further Questions to Explore

Some of the data in this study reveals that some elements of Chinese culture might be transmitted or changed when the children interact with their peers. However, it requires further studies in order to have a deeper understanding of the cultural learning that might happen in a multilingual/multicultural classroom. In spite of this limitation, this study inspires us to think about further questions: What role should the school or the home play in children's identity socialization? Who

has the right to tell the children who they are? To what extent the school should allow the children to interact with their home culture? What if the home culture is different from the culture of the school (the mainstream culture)? These are questions that are not answered by this study but important for multicultural education.

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LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY DESCRIPTIONS

Accent

1. Pronunciation frequently unintelligible.
2. Frequent gross errors and a very heavy accent making understanding difficult, requiring frequent repetition.
3. "Foreign" accent that requires concentrated listening; mispronunciation leading to occasional misunderstanding and apparent errors in grammar or vocabulary.
4. Marked "foreign" accent and occasional mispronunciations which do not interfere with understanding.
5. No conspicuous mispronunciations for a child of that age level but would not be taken for a native speaker.
6. Native pronunciation, with no trace of "foreign" accent.

Grammar

1. Grammar almost entirely inaccurate except in common phrases.
2. Constant errors showing control of very few major patterns, relative to a native speaker of that age level, and frequently preventing communication.
3. Frequent errors showing lack of control of some major patterns and causing more misunderstanding than would be expected for a native speaker of that age level.
4. Occasional errors showing imperfect control of some patterns but no weakness that causes misunderstanding.
5. Few errors, with no patterns of failure, but still lacking full control over grammar that is expected of that age.
6. No more than two errors during the interview, other than those typical of a child of the same age who is a native speaker of that language.

Vocabulary

1. Vocabulary inadequate for even the simplest conversation.
2. Vocabulary limited to basic personal and survival areas (time, food, family, etc.)
3. Choice of words sometimes more inaccurate than would be expected of a native speaker of the same age, and limitations of vocabulary that prevent continuous conversation.
4. Vocabulary adequate to carry on basic conversation but some circumlocutions are present.
5. Vocabulary almost as broad and precise as would be expected of a native speaker of the same age.
6. Vocabulary apparently as accurate and extensive as that of a native speaker of the same age.

Fluency

1. Speech so halting and fragmentary that conversation is virtually impossible.
2. Speech very slow and uneven except for short or routine sentences.
3. Speech more hesitant and jerky than a native speaker of the same age; sentences left uncompleted.
4. Speech occasionally hesitant, with some unevenness caused by rephrasing and groping for words, more so than would be typical for that age level.
5. Speech effortless and smooth, but perceptibly non-native in speed and evenness.
6. Speech on all topics that are of interest to that age level as effortless and smooth as a native speaker's.

Comprehension

1. Understands too little for the simplest type of conversations.
2. Understands only slow, very simple speech on concrete topics; requires more repetition and rephrasing than would be expected of a native speaker of the same age.
3. Understands careful, somewhat simplified speech directed to him, with considerable repetition and rephrasing.
4. Understands adult speech quite well directed to him, but still requires more repetition or rephrasing than a native speaker of the same age.
5. Understands everything in conversation except for colloquial or low-frequency items, or exceptionally rapid or slurred speech.
6. Understands everything in both formal and colloquial speech expected of a native speaker of the same age.

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A diagram of a protein structure showing various amino acid side chains. The side chains are represented by letters in boxes or ovals. The letters are: T (top), J (top right), P (top right), R (middle right), L (middle right), T (bottom right), TA (bottom right), D (bottom), Y (bottom), I (bottom), ST (bottom left), K (bottom left), M (bottom left), E (bottom left), W (top left), and H (top left).

Diagram illustrating a network structure with nodes and connections. The nodes are labeled with letters: M, W, P, J, I, Y, T, D, U, A, K, B, E. The connections are shown as lines between nodes. A box labeled 'ST' is at the top left.

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9/8/93 (Before leaving) I, E, W, S, P, D, Y, A, R, F, M, L, (door), *v*

10/20/93 (Name tag) R, L, F, A, B, K, @, E, W, M, (Bi), D, Y, I, P, J, T

10/21/93 (Before leaving) J, D, K, W, M, T, E, A, Y, I, P, L, R

10/27/93 (Name tag) W, M, A, B, S, K, T, @, E, F, J, P, R, L, (Bi), Y, I, D, H

11/3/93 (Name tag) S, A, S, P, J, R, F, K, H, E, M, W, (Bi), L, T, D, Y

11/23/93 (Name tag) F, H, @, A, B, T, L, P, J, R, M, W, (Bi), E, Y, I, D

11/23/93 (Before leaving) Y, I, T, S, B, A, M, W, E, D, J, P, R, L

Figure 9. Name tag order and seats locations during leaving time.

Note. @ = Empty hook. Some children's data are missing because they had not put their name tags on the hook or had not sit down when I recorded. (Bi) was the African family coordinator's son's name tag. He was in Jenny's class the year before, but this year he has been enrolled with other Hispanic children in another class. However, his name tag (without a photo) has been kept there for the whole semester.

1/20/94

L. R., B. A., W, S., M, @, @, @, E, J. P., H. D., K, T
(Absent R, L, S)

1/21/94

L. R., (Bi), @, @, T, S., @, @, W, D, K, H. Y., A. B., E, M

2/1/94

R. L. M., J. P., E. W., N, (Bi), S. B. A., K, Y. D. H.

2/2/94

R. L. M., (Bi), W, @, @, P, E, S. J., A. B., H. Y. D., K

2/7/94

R. L. M., P., (Bi), S, T, J, W, N, K, Y, B. A., D. H. E.

2/24/94

P. J., M. W., T, S, B. A., Y, @, D. H. E., N, (Bi), R. L.
(M moved T's name tag and let W put beside her)

3/1/94

L. R., J. P., B. A., H. D., (Bi), M. E., S. Y., @, K, W, N

3/11/94

P, K, S. J., Y, A. B., (Bi), L. R., N, D. H. E., W, M

3/18/94 (#12, absent, L, B)

J. R. P., (Bi), E. W., S, @, @, @, D, K, B, N, Y. H.

3/16/94

J. R. P., (Bi), D, K, @, S. N., E, B. Y., A. H.
(M and W were still clean up the table)

4/22/94

M, S. B. A., O, N, R. J. P., W. E., @, K, H. Y. D.

4/27/94

R. J. P., M, (Bi), K, E. W., @, O, D. H. Y., A. B., N

4/29/94

J. P. R., E. H. D. Y., K, W. M. O., A. B., (Bi), N, @
(S did not find his name tag)

5/3/94

A. B. S., K, (Bi), E. J. P., H. Y., R. M., D, W. O., N

@ = Empty hook (Bi) = A family coordinator's child's name tag (not in this class)

	K	N	S	A	B	D	Y	H	E	J	P	R	L	M	W	O	T	Number of Interviews
K		x x	■ ■	■ ■	■ 2	■ 3	■ 2	■ 3	(I have too many friends) (I don't know) (I don't play with girls)									4
N			■			x			2	3								1
S				■	■													1
A			■		■ ■	■		■	2									3
B				■ ■		2	■	■										2
D		x	2	■ 2	■ 2		■ 2	■ 2	■ 3	■ 3	2	■ 2						4
Y*				■ 2	■	3		■ 3		3	2	3						2
H	2	x				■ ■	■ ■		■ ■	2	2							1
E				■ ■				■ ■		■								2
J									■		■ ■							2
P		x				2	2	2	2	■ ■	■ ■	3	2	2				3
R									2	2	■ ■	2	■ ■	3	2	2		2
L									3	2	3		■ ■	3	3		3	1
M									■ ■	■ ■	■ ■	■ ■		■ ■	■ ■		■	3
W									2	2	2	2		■ ■				1
O									(I play with somebody)									1
Tot	1	4	4	6	5	7	5	7	10	9	8	4	3	3	3	0		
Neg		4				1												
Sig	0	0	1	5	2	1	2	3	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	0		

"x" = don't like ■ = First-priority nomination "2" = Second nomination "3" = Third nomination

Tot = Number of children who mentioned this child

Neg = Number of children who give "negative nomination" to this child spontaneously

Sig = Number of children who give "significant nomination" (first-priority nomination over 50% of the total interview times) to this child

* Y was not very attentive during the interviews. It seems that no one got significant nomination from him. However, I counted A and H as significant nomination--both were nominated in both interviews and got at least one first-priority nomination.

Figure 10. Children's nomination of their own playmates.

<u>Interview K</u> (2/29/94) N--"I don't like." J--P E--R Y--K, S, D B--H N--"plays with all the girls" P--H A--S D--H <u>Interview K</u> (3/9/94) M--R, E, P, J <u>Interview A</u> (2/22/94) A--B B--A--S--E Y--D--H--E J--P--R <u>Interview A</u> (2/29/94) Y--D--H--E S--A--B K--"like by herself." P--J--M--R--W N--"always-" K--N T--W E--A, B, S L--R K--"play by herself." <u>Interview B</u> (2/22/94) P--J--R P--J W--M H--E (O) D--K A--E--Y N--S B--A N--alone <u>Interview B</u> (2/29/94) B--A N--S B--Y E--H W--M D--K R--J P--J	<u>Interview D</u> (2/22/94) W--E M--W A--B S--A--B K--? R--L J--P H--D Y--D, H N--"I DON'T LIKE HIM." N--TA T--W <u>Interview D</u> (3/8/94) L--R B--S M--W, T--N <u>Interview H & D</u> (5/11/94) M--W <u>Interview D</u> (5/23/94) M--W, O M**N L--R S--A, no B W--M K--S J--P E--Y, D, H <u>Interview H</u> (5/10/94) J--P--E--H--Y--D "WE, WE, WE ALL PLAY TOGETHER." Less play with K, because Y doesn't like to play with K. less often with P, J, and K N--"NOBODY LIKES N, BECAUSE HE speak a different language, NOBODY UNDERSTANDS HIM." O--"PLAYS WITH THE BLACKS." A--B--S M--W, O, R/sometimes J, P J--P M--IT SEEMS R MOST OF THE TIME. W--I DON'T KNOW E--R, or P & J (not sure) D--"WE"
--	--

(figure continues)

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Figure 13 (continued)

Interview Y (5/13/94) D--H P--J /(NOBODY ELSE) R--P, J, M W--M O--M E--? N--E S--B, A K--? Interview E (2/17/94) J--P (J is the one sit by P) Y--A (3/24/94) A, D, E, H, B, N, S, Y ("all this family.") A--E, H / B Interview J D--Y, H, K (2/29/94) A--S D **A B--A--S R--L M--W T--? Interview P L--R (3/8/94) H--E B--A--S N--T Y--D M--W K--? H--D, Y/ E/ J, P (5/7/94) P--J (Everytime) H--D--Y--E (everytime it's like this.) A--B R--L, P, J, M W--N/ P/ T/ K H--A, B S--I DON'T KNOW M--I DON'T KNOW O--I DON'T KNOW Y--H, E, D (3/9/94) B--A, S R--J, L, P J--M, R, H, E, L, P N--Everybody M--J, P / R	Interview R (2/22/94) M--W D--Y K--B H--Y, D E--M J--R, L, P E--H (E likes to play with H) "Let's put girls with girls." Y--A, B, H, D (3/9/94) Interview M (2/22/94) J--M J--P D--Y, S, A, B R--L, K--? T--Nobody E--M, W Group Interview (P,J,D,E) Y--A (3/8/94) Y**N Y--B B--A W**Y H--Y D--H Y.....K Y**R, T, J, M Y--B, A, K, H, E A--B, D, S, H (D said "no, J--H") A**T, S, R, J, W, P, K, M M.....N Y**N A**N E--N S--N E--N W--N W--M J.....N H**N K--H H--J, P B**N B--A K**N K--A
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Figure 13. The children's awareness of the social network.

Note. "--" = plays with; "***" = doesn't play with;

"...." = sometimes plays with; "/" = "Who else?"

Date: 1/24/94 (Monday)
 Time: 9:48am - 10:45 am (58 minutes)
 Child#: 16/16
 Absent: None

(1) The Children's Locations Through Time

	9:48am	9:55am	10:01am	10:08am	10:17am	10:24am	10:34am	10:45am
(Block)	E,P,A,[N]	K,E,A,[N] P	K,E,A,[N]	K,E,A, D,S,© N	A,©,E,[N]* -K D-S	P,S,© [A][N] [K],E	E,[A],[N]* -P J -K -S	B,A,E,-N
(Drama)	H,D,Y,W,[K]	H,D,Y,W,-K	H,D,Y,W	H,Y,-D,W,[N]	H,Y,D,W,-N	H,Y,D,W,M	-H-Y-D	W,M
(Art)	T,©,S,B,©	T,©,B S	T,B	T,B	T,B,K',©,§	T,-K-B	-W-M,S,K	S,© -K
(Paint)		S,©	S,©	S,©			-T,R	-R,[N]
(Water)	L,R,M	L,R,-M	L,R	J,R,M	-L-R M			T,#
(Snack)					L,R,M,S	-L-R M,B	B,P,J*,H,Y,D	-B-P-J*-H-Y-D
(Math)		M,§	-M,§				T,§,I	L,R,T
(Carpet)		J*,P	J*,P	J*,P	J*	J*	M,W-J*	H,D,Y,J*,P
(Other)	J (not arrive yet)		M,§	P	P (hangs around)	L,R,-P	L,R	K

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(2) The Analysis of Grouping

	9:48am	9:55am	10:01am	10:08am	10:17am	10:24am	10:34am	10:45am
(Drama)	H,D,Y			-D	D		(snack)	(carpet)
(Carpet)		J*,P		-P			J*,P (snack)	(carpet)
(Other)				P		(block)	P	
(Block)	E,A					(separate)		B
(Water)	L,R,M	M		M	(snack)	-M-L-R		L,R
(Other)						L,R	-L-R	
(Drama)	W					M		
(Art)	S,©	(Paint)		(block)	(snack) ©	(block),©	(drama) ©	

* With mother

Context: The teacher is sick and absent today. This is Nou's first day in school, so his mother is sitting nearby and watching him. Janet's mom came and stays with her all the time.

©=Jenny #=Cathy §=Student teacher ©=Family Coordinator "[]" = Plays alone "-" = Having left the center "-" = Staying over time
 (The adults' locations are shown only when they are obviously interacting with the children)

1/24/94

Contextualized Analysis:

--H (Ch), D (Ch), and Y (Ch) stay together all the time. When they shift, they shift together (10:34am, 10:45am). Although D shifts to the block center for a while, he moves back to the group soon.

--P (Ch) plays with J (Ch) once she has arrived. However, J's mother is also playing with J, so P feeds the ginny pig alone (10:08am) and later (10:17am) hangs around for a while. However, she finally goes back to J.

--Today A (Ru) and B (Ru) do not play in the same center. A plays in the block center, while B plays in the art center. It is possible that it is because that B can not get a space in the block center. At 10:45am B goes to A.

--E (Ch) does not really belong to any group. When E (Ch) is building a cage, A (Ru) helps her. Later, E stays in her cage and A does cutting and pasting alone after the family coordinator stops by (10:17am). Toward the end of the center time (10:45am), B (Ru) visits A (Ru) in the block center.

--S (Ru) is always staying with the family coordinator except when he was eating snacks. The family coordinator left at 10:30am. Although he was eating snacks at the same time (10:17am) as L (Pa), R (Pa), and M (Af), the three girls sit together and S sits along on the other side of the table.

--L (Pa) and R (Pa) stays together all the time except one short period (10:35am-10:45am).

--M (Af) sometimes works alone with a student teacher (9:55am-10:08am), sometime stays with L (Pa) and R (Pa) (9:48am-9:55am, 10:08-10:24am), and later (10:24am) goes to W (Af).

--W (Af) stays in the dramatic play center, wearing skirts and looking into the mirror, not involving in the three Chinese boys' play. M (Af) comes to her at 10:45am.

--K (Pa) shifts among different centers and doesn't stay in with any group for a long period of time.

--T (Af) stays in the art center for a long period of time and shifts at 10:34am to the math center and then at 10:45am the water table where Cathy is.

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All the family

Joleen's family

